553 neighborhood children are then invited to eat a dish consisting of a gruel of sorghum and beans. But before eating they wait for the child to relieve himself, hence the name of this meal, ubunyano (from kunya, to defecate). Then the father recites a few names he would like to give the child, and those present choose one of them. If the parents have already lost a child, in order to turn away the evil spirits, the newborn child is baptized with an objectionable name such as Kangurube (little pig child). The same day the husband is obliged to have intercourse with his wife lest a misfortune happen to the child.

● [845] Twins (impanga) are given names that resemble each other, Karengera and Karinganire for example. [36]

851 848 [611] The rule pater is est quem nuptiae demonstrant is universally applied. Normally, therefore, the husband is the child's father and filiation is established in the paternal line. Children born after the father's death are considered legitimate if the wife was pregnant at the time of his death.

There is no special word to designate the legitimate child.

However, the rule mentioned above has certain exceptions. If a man marries an ikinyandaro, the child to be born, who is only an umusambanano for the husband, will belong to his natural father. But the husband may claim that the child is his if at the time of the marriage the girl is only a few months pregnant.

It may happen that a girl does not know the name of the man who has taken her (1). The natural child then belongs to the inzu of

1. This is especially the case with abajakazi (mistress-servants), who live at the Mwami's Court or with the great chiefs and who are put at the disposal of their master's guests.

the girl's father. Today there are many ibyomanzi who, eager for their independence, have left their parents and wander throughout the country. Their children are called abana b'umugore, but they do not belong to the maternal inzu, for the ibyomanzi no longer have any family.

The adulterine child belongs to the husband because of the dowry that has been paid. If the dowry has not been paid, the child is supposed to belong to the family of his mother's father. The incestuous child belongs to the husband. When a child is born to an unmarried

Barrenness (ingumba) is
842 regarded as a misfortune and is grounds for divorce. It is not
586 unusual for a Barundi mother to give birth to a child just one year after a previous birth. In Ussumbwa the period will be at least two years since an infant first has to be weaned before intercourse is permitted again; this is not the case in Urundi.
165 Child mortality also is very high in Urundi. Of the children 13 to 15 years old fewer than two thirds survive. One may often hear women saying that they lost ten children, but a sufficient number is left because of the high fertility (van der Burgt, Koloniale Rundschau [Colonial Review], 1913, pp. 721-722).

When delivery (uwurjasi) is near, the woman in labor is
844 assisted by a few women neighbors who are called in and, in difficult cases only, by a "wise woman" or the medicine man who operates with all kinds of magic but who also uses really effective methods and techniques, ranging from herbal medicine
845 and light massage to Caesarean operations (see pp. 140, 142 ; No. 19, pp. 9, 363). I do not know how this latter operation is performed; presumably it is only performed on dead women in order to save the child or to remove it, as is expressly reported by Emin Pascha of the Bahima of Unjoro (Petermanns Mitteilungen [Petermann's Communications], 1879, p. 393).
[171] The Caesarean operation is also known in Ruanda, Ussuwi, Kisiba, and Uganda (No. 48, p. 228). During her labor the
844 woman lies on her sleeping mat, or she squats on the ground with her back propped against one of the poles which support the hut or with some other person supporting her from behind. At this time the men leave the hut. As soon as the child is born, it is washed with cold water and rubbed with butter. The placenta is buried in the hut under the mother's bed; the umbilical cord is severed with a chip of wood and kept as an amulet by the mother. The newborn infant's body is then squeezed and pulled by the mother so as to give the head and limbs the proper shape (No. 19, p. 9). Deformation of the skull, however, is not practiced.

846 After giving birth, the mother is washed with warm water, and her body is rubbed with herbal juices. She remains in the hut for four or five days, depending on whether she has given

846 birth to a girl or a boy. When she leaves the house, her head is newly shaved, and she wears a broad headband made from a corn leaf, probably as a symbol of fertility and as an amulet.

The mother suckles her baby as long as she has milk and
853 as long as the physical condition of the infant seems to require it, which frequently is as much as three to four years. After giving birth to the child, she remains separated from her husband until her menstrual cycle begins again. However, if menstruation fails to occur, the separation is soon ended.

The birth of twins (amahassa) is greeted with mixed feel-
●845 ings. Van der Burgt is of the opinion that it gives rise to joy because the Barundi attribute a religious meaning to the birth of twins which they regard as "ope incubi" [the result of intercourse with a spirit] (No. 19, p. 325). On the other hand, Gassldinger states that the birth of twins is considered a bad omen since twins are the favorites of Kiranga, and for this reason they will soon be taken away by him (die) unless the parents pay ransom by making large sacrificial offerings (No. 45, 1914, p. 314). I refrain from giving an opinion as to which
845 conception is the correct one. However, it is a fact that the
782 birth of twins is followed by extraordinary rites, sacrifices, and celebrations. The underlying reason [111] for this is probably that it is known from experience that twins are usually physically weak, and also they cannot get a sufficient amount of nourishment from the mother. As a result, both (or one of them) usually die unless Kiranga is propitiated by the offering of sacrifices. Upon receiving the news of the birth of twins, crowds of neighbors and friends gather. They sing and provide presents and large amounts of food which, however, are only intended for the spirits and disappear at night. A priest (kiranga) is called in. Aided by his assistants and numerous participants, he first performs the ceremony of the "holy spear" (see p. 134). By vener-
[776] ating this symbol, its patron, the great spirit Kiranga, master over all material things, is shown gratitude, and his special blessings are called down upon the twins and their parents (No. 19,
845 pp. 516, 324, 216). Then the young men, with their faces
535 painted red and yellow, perform ritual dances in the courtyard

845 of the hut to the accompaniment of rattles. These dances last
535 from four to six hours and induce real frenzy in the dancers. They form a circle, jump and contort their bodies bathed in perspiration, and sing rhythmical songs of short stanzas. A circle dance of the girls follows. They are painted and are adorned with leaves. In the meantime large amounts of beer are consumed. The celebration continues in this manner for two or three nights and even longer. In the end the priest once
845 more performs the great ceremony of the holy spear, and two
782 little lambs are dedicated to the god as substitutes for the twins. The lambs may not be slaughtered and are allowed to run around freely and eat whatever and wherever they desire. However, the dances and the drinking bouts often continue for two or three weeks longer (No. 19, p. 325; No. 45, 1914, p. 315).

847 Infanticide (kumuniga umwana) is rare among the Barundi, but it does occur, mainly because the mother wishes to avoid the tedious work of bringing up and feeding the baby. Nominally this is regarded as a punishable crime, but the offender is rarely punished since it is difficult to prove intent to kill (by suffocation). An infant is legally killed by the medicine man if it is
[826] born with teeth or if its upper incisors grow first (No. 4, p. 221).
[171] This is also reported by Lechaptois from the southernmost Bahima state, Ufipa (No. 47, p. 138). The Batwa, too, kill such infants.

553 As soon as the child's hair begins to grow or as soon as it is able to walk, it is given a name (isina) by the father. The mother and friends add still other names, so each Murundi has at least two or three names. No special celebration is connected with the naming of the child. There are a great variety of
551 names. They either indicate particular characteristics of the child or refer to certain events in its young life, or they result from some whim of the name-giver, for example: kitwe, thick-head; mbiriko, wood chip; ntarija, it does not cry; kimina, it walks upright; kiriwate, cattle hide; manwa, big mouth; mawamba, orphan; yamirwa, beer; inambu, hunger; tunguru, name of a bird. There are other, ugly Barundi names which

784 There are special rules dealing with the consumption of water. The washing and drinking water in a house must never be completely used up. Every evening a little water is left in [782] a jug so that the manes can refresh themselves at night. This is called amasi y'Imana. The family will use this remaining water the next morning for washing themselves (No. 19, p. 6). [788] A person may not cross a river without first painting a line on his forehead with the mud from the shore.

Numerous rules affect family life. A father never enters [606] the hut of his daughter-in-law. Also, until his married [593] daughters have given birth to a child, the father may not see them unveiled (No. 19, p. 6). A woman who has just given [846] birth to a child cannot leave the house for three days, since otherwise the baby, but not the mother, would get sick. If ● [845] twins are born, a religious ceremony has to be performed (see p. 110), since otherwise the children would die. A son-in-law 606 must avoid his mother-in-law; a daughter-in-law must avoid her father-in-law. If the young people nevertheless meet them, they must run or at least turn away from their parents-in-law. This is considered a sign of great respect. Its non-observance would be a serious insult and would lead to breaking the engagement [sic]. Basically, however, the reason for this is probably the fear of the taboo against contact with close relatives which is connected with conceptions of exogamy. A violation of this taboo is believed to bring harm and impurity upon the violator. This taboo is strictly observed by many peoples [171] of East Africa, for example, by the Wangoni, Wagogo, Massai, Wakamba, Basoga, Baganda, and others. (No. 30, Vol. II, pp. 400, 403, 412, 420, 461, 508). In Urundi the young couple is bound by the rule to avoid their parents-in-law until they have children, but after that the young people must show the greatest attention and subservience to the wishes of their parents-in-law. It often happens that the demands made by the latter are so exacting that the young couple has hardly enough time left for taking care of their own housework and the fields (No. 23, 1914, p. 122).

482 The pad used for carrying burdens on the head (ingata) 784 has to be treated with particular care. No one may sit on it for

681 to birds and animals such as buffalo, gazelles, wild boars, dogs.
696 Even if the latter should not die immediately, their masters would
823 have to kill them for fear of being stricken themselves by contagion.

Each night, they say, smoke and flames rise from that awful place and cast a reddish glare on the horizon (1).

1. The grass fires at the end of summer must not be foreign to this association of thoughts and images.

It is also said that the waters have the color of blood (atukura, assa n'amarasso). Every time an offender is led to the pit, the waters rise suddenly as though to fetch the victim (ngw' abon' umugome, akassama). After swallowing their prey, the waters subside. Then protracted cries and moans (akaboroga, akater' induru) arise from the bottom of the pit.

The pit is so deep, it is commonly said, that its waters join those of Lake Kivu (ngw' aja hasi, afatanye n'i Kivu).

Considering such stories, one can easily understand why people should speak with terror of that cursed place.

In actual fact, the victims were strangled or killed with spears
681 before they were thrown into the water.
696 An attempt was made to submerge the bodies, but they would rise once more to the surface. The hyenas quickly disposed of them. After leaving the place of torture, the executioners would go a certain distance to another depression, usually filled with water, in order to clean their weapons and wash their blood-stained hands. /384/

[848] Traitors and enemies, bewitchers and ranking political prisoners were not the sole victims of the accursed pit. Among those
[845] condemned to die at that sinister spot were also freak babies (ibimara),
[847] unwed mothers (ibinyandaro), children born during the period of mourning held for their father (inda y'amabi) sometimes along with
[826] their mother, young girls whose breasts had not grown (impenebere) (1)..., and calves born in a "faulty" manner (ubufuti), such as those whose legs... came first.

754 he wishes to take revenge. The viscous material, carefully gathered
787 in a leaf, is brought to the sorcerer who introduces it with a little
[826] water into the beak of the chick he is about to sacrifice.

The diviner first holds a conversation with the bird and requests it to make sure that its guts will not "turn white" but "turn black," so the evil deriving from this fact may be duly utilized. After talking at some length, the operator slits the chicken's throat in the usual fashion of diviners and carefully washes the guts to verify the specific color (white or black) on which the spell depends. If black is present, the lucky client takes what is left of the chick from the hands of the diviner and tosses it surreptitiously into the hut or enclosure of his enemy, or else he buries it at the favorite spot where the person likes to sit and rest. The effects of the sorcery will be felt quickly, and the unfortunate victim /404/ will die almost instantly after a few moments of indisposition.

The Blacks add that this sorcery is feared by everyone but used more especially by the nobility (Batutsi). They say that if one wishes to ensure success, it is preferable to use a chick which is the only survivor (yonyine, ikinege) of its brood.

If the guts turn black in the course of the divinatory procedure, the chick will infaliibly "swallow" (gusama) and "destroy" (gufata) the person whose death is desiired.

754 8. Let us now mention the bewitcher who uses the horn of a cow to cast an evil spell on an enemy (ihembe umulozi alogesha).

The horn is hollowed out by the sorcerer, who carves at its tip the head of a snake. He fills it with all sorts of objects and ingredients, the droppings of various birds or animals, and scraps of flesh taken from victims he has already killed.

9. Freak babies (ibimara), young girls whose breasts have not
[787 developed (impenebere), and other unfortunate beings of this kind are
845 regarded by the Banyarwanda as "revealing in themselves the presence
856] of an evil principle or mystic force whose influence is deadly," (1)
just like the monster, portents, and other ill omens of Roman times

1. La mentalité primitive
/The Primitive Mentality/,
by Levy-Bruhl, pp. 158 ff.

755 tool and leave it at some crossroads....Woe to those, however, who
783 should fail to notice in time the itinerant abode of the evil spirit, ever in search of a new victim. According to popular belief, these sorcerers also have the power of averting the misfortune or punishment that follows the violation, no matter how involuntary, of any taboo, departure from custom, scorn of tradition, or even the appearance of any extraordinary object or event.

845 The birth of a freak child, the excessive growth of a fruit or plant, etc., may be prejudicial to the man who fathered or owns it.

787 Every unwonted event is a revelation to the Blacks. To them
783 nothing is fortuitous, and whatever deviates from the ordinary, no matter how little, is a manifestation of hidden powers. After meeting with such evil portents, the Munyarwanda experiences the need for purification as he would after the violation of a taboo, to avoid the misfortune that would befall him. It is in this sense that they identify unfavorable omens with departure from ancestral custom.

784 Numerous are the prescription and customs whose strictly material infraction involves fearsome consequences, such as a particular disease or even death. Among the interdictions and prohibitions, some apply to everyone, others to one clan or another, to women alone, or merely to the king. Persons who are in mourning or in other special /408/ circumstances must observe numerous taboos and must abstain from a large number of actions. The interdiction frequently bears on an object or animal which must not be touched or eaten, and which must not be looked at.

There are also taboos about days, that is to say, the prohibition to engage in certain occupations on certain days.

843 There are many taboos to which a woman is susceptible during
783 her pregnancy. The sight of a canoe may cause her to give birth to a child whose lips are pointed like the prow of the boat.

If she meets with a killed animal, a dog, a wild boar, an otter, she may give birth to a dead child or one covered with sores like those which she saw on the corpse. The sight of a man who is being put to death or merely bound makes her liable to the same misfortune, and so does the burning of a hut. The sight of a weapon which has been used to kill entails the same consequences.

578 851 case the conventional decision is hardly feasible, although the child of a woman who has not been paid for does not, it seems, in principle belong to the clan of its father.

586 562 The state cannot force women who have left their husbands to be brought back, and thus a woman has some personal freedom. Also, although the woman does not have a high social standing, she can exercise considerable pressure by threatening to move away. There are many instances that prove these are not empty threats. In spite of the man's privileged position, the woman is mistress of the hut, even when she is occupying it only temporarily, for she nourishes the household with her work in field and garden.

845 Birth. Although all women have a strong desire for children, they are nevertheless very much afraid of childbirth. In Ruanda the number of difficult confinements is not small. They are supposed to occur particularly in the north, in Mulera and Bugoye. In Mulera mothers not infrequently die in childbirth. I was told of confinements that lasted a week. This fact is probably related to the recent mixture of very different anthropological elements, such as those like the Forest Bantu with those like the Batutsi, which may be observed there.

843 The pregnant woman wears the ibiheko amulet to ensure an easy birth. The amulet consists of two small pieces of wood tied together and is worn on the chest. Often a second one is worn on the back. The amulet is not taken off after the birth, but is worn until the child is two or four years old.

843 578 Pregnant women are given some consideration, even when their husbands beat them in a fit of temper. The husband is careful not to hit the woman on the abdomen and usually boxes her ears. If he reaches for a stick in his rage, he beats her only on the shoulders.

844 [228] A birth usually takes place in the hut, in the section occupied by the women (mbele yinzu), but this is not always the case. A soothsayer must decide the place for a favorable birth. If it is to be outside the hut, a place is chosen near the path. It is neatly covered with grass and the woman, accompanied by a midwife, goes there when her labor pains begin. The midwife is said to limit herself to extracting the child. Delivery takes place

844 in a kneeling position. Only women and girls may be present; men are not allowed.

845 If the mother dies during labor in Ussuwi and Bukumbi, a Caesarean operation is performed in order to save the child. It is said that in Kissaka and Mulera people do not dare to perform this operation.

844 After delivery the woman is nourished with a mixture of milk and cow's blood. Later, beer (nzoga) is added to this diet, as well as a mixture of peas and bananas of the nkamba variety.

The navel cord is cut with a reed splinter. On the fourth day, 846 it is said, the navel is finally trimmed. After this the mother sweeps out the hut and places the rubbish in two baskets (ntaro) which she carries out with the help of her neighbors. The women go in a row, one next to the other, and in this way they accompany the young mother to a previously chosen spot where the contents of the baskets are scattered. After the women return, the husband serves banana beer to the midwife, but before that he performs a libation.

846 On this day the neighbors call and bring presents in honor of 431 the child's birth. The presents consist of food and drink, for ex- 852 ample, bananas, peas, sweet potatoes, beer, and, among the Batutsi, milk. This ceremony is known as bihembo.

852 In Kissaka the guests kneel in honor of the father. He accepts the honors standing, holding a wooden spear (muko) in his hand and with a sword (ngota) behind his back. He calls upon Binego and Mugasha and expresses his gratitude for the honor by spitting nzoga (banana beer) upon the visitors. If the newborn child is a boy, the father puts a small spear, a small bow, a nail upon which to hang the bow, and a small shield woven of grass into his hand. When he gives the bow to the child, the father spits and says: "akavuna muheto kandi ntaka uvune (if he breaks the bow, may he not break it again)." When he presents the spear, he says: "arakagua mukicho kandi ntaka kigwemo (if he is attacked in ambush, may it not happen again)." When the shield is presented: "kiliho arakagua mungabo kandi ntaka kigwemo (if he should fall upon his shield, may he [229] not fall again)." Finally, turning to the nail on which the bow is to be hung, he says: "arakavuna ingaugo kandi ntaka uvune (if the nail breaks, may it no longer do so later)."

551 are often so long that they can barely be pronounced in one breath, and yet they are always spoken very fast, in one breath, with a singing intonation and with a dance gesture."

842 If a widow gives birth to a child, they say that the child has
843 remained in her blood since the death of her husband and that it
164 has only now come into the world. This belief is related to the idea that pregnancies can last several years, and that idea, in turn, probably comes from the diseases of the genital organs (tumors) that cause enlargement of the abdomen. If [230] a woman can be pregnant for several years, she also can carry the child in her blood for several years.

845 Children are ardently desired and loved. In the southeast, in
847 Kissaka, twins are regarded as a blessing; the mother gets twice as many presents and is called nina babili. However, in the northwest, in the Forest Bantu sphere of influence, this is very different. Here infanticide is not uncommon and is practiced particularly on twins. During my visit in Mulera twins were born near the Ruasa Mission. The missionaries had a hard time preventing the people from killing the children. At first the natives replied to the missionaries' explanations that a woman could not possibly carry two children on her back.

853 Children are nursed for a long time, for three years it seems. One sees cases of children who come to their mothers to suck when they are old enough to run about and even to tend cattle.

[857] Little attention is paid to children. This is evident in the
861 high infant mortality. Even less care is given to the moral education of children. Although they are not thrashed like European children, they sometimes suffer severe punishment, especially for theft. A popular punishment is burning the fingers, which is supposed to bring about inhibitory associations when one reaches for other people's belongings. The hands of the little thieves are bound with blades of grass or scraps of matting, which are lighted, and the fingers are covered with burns (1).

1. Classe, Father, Moeurs et Coutumes des Bagoye [Manners and Customs of the Bagoye] (Les Missions Catholiques, 1905), p. 428.

8: Hall G-5 (1929-31) 1938 FO42 Rundi FO42

586

Impotence.
Loss of reason.
Failure to clothe the wife.
Failure to cultivate.
Failure to provide food.
Wandering habits.
Measuring out food to the wife (instead of giving her free access to the store).
Refusal to eat food.
Accusation of witchcraft.
Continued insult and beating.
Removal of bride-wealth from the relations-in-law.

There are three marital causes where dissolution is threatened, one, because the cow paid in bride-wealth has died, in another because it has gone blind, and in a third because it has borne twin-calves: such a cow is taboo for this purpose, presumably on account of the danger of sympathetic influence on the wife—the advent of twins is not hailed with joy, witness a case where a cow is in issue, the fee of a doctor for removing the curse of twins. [845]

Grounds for divorce of the wife include:

Refusal to work and to cook.
Continued sickness.
Desertion, subdivided into cases where she has gone to her relations, and where she has gone off to another man.

Adultery as such is never cited as a reason for divorce. There is but one case of adultery on record in the Court, the offending man being punished and the woman returned to her husband. [837]

It is but rarely that a woman or her relatives come to Court to sue for a divorce. Normally, if she feels that she has reason for dissatisfaction, she returns to the home of her father or brother, whose duty it is to endeavour to reach an amicable settlement. If this is not done, she remains and abides the issue, or, not infrequently, is married to another man, this precipitating proceedings by the husband. But in a fair number of instances, she goes straight off to another man. [691]

The Court will try to compose matters and to maintain the marriage wherever possible.

586

Instance: A runaway wife, sued by her husband, complains that he does not give her clothes and is stingy with food to the extent of measuring 691

9:Maquet E-5 (1949-1951)1961 FO42 Rundi FO42

cross and parallel cousins. Lévi-Strauss's crucial assertion that parallel and cross-cousins 'from the point of view of the degree of biological proximity are strictly interchangeable',[11] would not be considered true by the Ruanda. For them any paternal cousin is *biologically* much closer than a paternal cross-cousin. The former, so to speak, originates from the same seeds as Ego, those of a common grandfather, whereas the latter comes from other seeds. This should be a relevant argument in the discussion of Lévi-Strauss's theory, since surely what matters here is not the biological conceptions of the anthropologist but those of the society which in this case differentiates parallel from cross-cousins.

Many characteristics of individuals were thought to be innate, a view coherent with the ideology of a caste society. Features were expected to be similar to those of the father (and, our informants say, this was the only way to be sure of who was the genitor). The complexion was supposed to be inherited from the mother. Psychological traits and temperament were said to come from the father, particularly in the case of his sons. Daughters were often regarded as more similar to their mothers.

The birth of a child was nearly always welcomed by a married woman, even if she were actually divorced. The only exception was in the case of twins of different sexes. This was regarded as caused by a particular intervention of Imana and as a sign of ill-luck. The diviner had to be consulted about it and often the only way to escape the evil consequences was to let one of the twins, usually the boy, die. If such a thing happened to cattle, the steer had to be killed. But a newly born baby was never unwanted. On the contrary, when it was not very clear to what group he belonged, the child was usually claimed by more than one.

The general rules were as follows: the husband was the pater of any child borne by his wife. The genitor had no right over the child even if he had been conceived in such circumstances as for instance during a very long absence of the husband in which there was no doubt about the genitor. A child borne by a divorced woman belonged to her father's inzu, though the genitor could pay a 'child-wealth' and have the child. This did not mean that he married the woman; he was redeeming the child from those who had rights in the mother's fertility. A genitor who was a married man could pay the child-wealth as well as a bachelor. If the

[11] Lévi-Strauss, 1949, p. 156.